

not allow right-thinking American people to know what it had done for Iran and against Israel and the United States' best interests.

But if you believe the best interests of the United States are to weaken the United States, if you believe that the United States has been the biggest problem in the world for the last 100 years, then you would think, well, then if we make a deal with Iran that weakens the United States, may even lead to our demise, the world is a better place. So it is ultimately for the good of the world because the United States is certainly weaker than it has been in decades, going back to pre-World War II military strength.

The Chinese economy, it was announced at one point, may have exceeded ours. I am not sure that is true.

□ 1845

Anyway, countries around the world that are threats to world peace have gotten stronger. ISIS has gotten stronger during this President's term, in fact, came into being under President Obama and got quite strong, thousands upon thousands of lives lost.

In Afghanistan, he took a war that he told people—the voters in 2008—was the important war. And what should have been just a housekeeping operation under his leadership and with his rules of engagement, it cost about four times more American military lives than were lost in the height of the Afghan war for 7½ years under President Bush. It must be something in the leadership there when one President loses four times more military members than the prior President in the same length of time and the latter President being when the war was supposed to be basically over.

This article points out that:

"Flynn had been preparing to publicize many of the details about the nuclear deal that had been intentionally hidden by the Obama administration as part of its effort to garner support for the deal, these sources said.

"Flynn is now 'gone before anybody can see what happened' with these secret agreements, said the second insider close to Flynn and the White House.

"Sources in and out of the White House are concerned that the campaign against Flynn will be extended to other prominent figures in the Trump administration."

Well, Mr. Speaker, I can inject here: Whoever these sources are that are concerned the campaign against Flynn be extended to other prominent figures, I can guarantee them that people in and outside the United States Government right now, as I speak, will do everything within their power—some of these characters will—to prevent President Trump from getting us back on track to making the world a safer place, to getting Iran back in the little box that President Carter let them out of. They are going to go after lots of people. It is not going to be limited.

This apparently is a campaign that is going to be ongoing.

Apparently, General Flynn messed up and wasn't completely honest when he should have been. A President has got to be able to trust his security adviser. That kind of goes without saying. The President has to be able to trust those people.

It takes me back to September when I was talking—it was right before General Flynn walked up, actually ironically. But I was telling: Look, I like President George W. Bush. He is a good man. He is a smart guy. He is a lot smarter than people give him credit. He is one of the wittiest people you can ever have a conversation with, but something that hurt him—and I wanted Donald Trump to understand this—something that hurt him was that he was such a nice guy. After the election was over, he made it known, in essence, that everything that happened in the past is bygones. What is happening now, from now on, we are going forward.

The trouble is he had people doing bad acts, even crimes like having FBI files at the White House. Chuck Colson went to prison a year and a half for having one. The Clinton administration had nearly a thousand; nobody did a day.

I said, you have got to clean out these departments, these agencies where Bush didn't clean them out. You have got to or they are going to undermine you the whole time you are President. And it looks like we are seeing that right now.

So, Mr. Speaker, I just encourage all my colleagues to let's give the Trump administration the chance to help get this country safer, freer, and just a better place to live. It is not going to happen while people are undermining the President from within his own administration and a little cabal that has those ties in this administration. It is time to clean house, and General Flynn is not who I am talking about.

I yield back the balance of my time.

FROM DESEGREGATION TO RESEGREGATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GARRETT). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) for 30 minutes.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the shock that was felt across the Nation.

This was done when, on behalf of a unanimous Supreme Court, he announced:

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

These 24 words, Mr. Speaker, had a far-reaching impact upon our Nation. These words ushered in an era of de jure desegregation that has changed

the course of history that has created a new sense of destiny, and literally these 24 words opened doors that were closed to many persons and created new opportunities.

Mr. Speaker, before I go on, let me thank the many cosponsors of H. Res. 79, which recognizes the significance of Black History Month, and H. Res. 17, which honors the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the NAACP, on its 108th anniversary. I thank the many cosponsors and the many persons who have worked on these issues.

I have a staff that has worked tirelessly to make sure that we have these resolutions prepared, such that they could be filed timely. I am grateful to my staff. One such staff member is with me tonight. My legislative director, Ms. Amena Ross, is in the Chamber with me. I am appreciative that on Valentine's Day she has chosen to be here as opposed to where she probably could be and will probably be going shortly.

Mr. Speaker, given that in this month, the month of February, we celebrate Black history as well as the founding of the NAACP, I think that it is appropriate for me to speak on the topic from desegregation to resegregation. Mr. Speaker, it can happen.

Mr. Speaker, while Brown v. Board of Education has not produced the utopian society many hoped for—it has not ended the de facto segregation that many prayed for. It has not engendered the quality education for all children and has not transformed public schools into perfect schools or equal schools—I still contend and firmly believe that we are a much better nation with Brown v. Board of Education than without it.

Mr. Speaker, I think that it is important for us to give empirical evidence of these words that I have just spoken, my positions, if you will. I would like to do so by allowing the words of a Southern judge. I would like to allow his words to speak for themselves.

This is a message that was delivered by a Southern judge on October 4 of 1957. Mr. Speaker, I shall not call his name. I do not want to embarrass his family. But he was the vice president of a bar association. He was a circuit court judge. He received his BA from a prestigious institution, and he taught sociology.

Mr. Speaker, please hear now his words so that people may understand why Brown v. Board of Education was so important to so many in this country. These are his words:

"Segregation in the South is a way of life. It is the means whereby we live in social peace, order and security."

Mr. Speaker, I trust that many people can understand why persons of my generation are concerned when we hear the terms "law" and "order," terms that indicate law enforcement will take law into its own hands by some standards. In fact, there was law and order at the Edmond Pettus Bridge on

Bloody Sunday, but there was not justice at the Edmond Pettus Bridge.

Many people seek justice when they look for law enforcement to enforce and maintain order. They look for justice as well.

He goes on to say: "Ninety-eight percent of both races prefer segregation."

He is now speaking for people that we now call African Americans. At that time, they were called Negroes.

"Integration is urged by the NAACP, a few Southern mulattoes"—this is a means by which light-skinned African Americans were separated from the darker African Americans.

He says that "... a few Southern mulattoes, Northern Communist-front organizations and left-wing labor groups who would use the unsuspecting Negro as their tool."

It is remarkable that someone would think that people yearning to be free would see those who are lending a hand as persons who are using them as tools.

He goes on to say: "It does not work any economic hardship nor deprive the Negro of any of his constitutional rights."

He is talking about segregation.

Then he goes on to say: "The Negro has made great strides and the Southern white man is largely responsible for these advancements."

This is a judge. One can only imagine what it must have been like to appear before him if you were Black.

He goes on to say: "If in the South the Negro was permitted, as he is in some Northern States, to obtain the ballot by simply reaching 21 years of age, it would mean that no qualified white man in many counties throughout the South could ever hold public office. It would also mean that in the halls of Congress, seats now held by competent white representatives would be held by ignorant, incompetent Negroes."

These are the words of a judge shortly after the Brown decision.

He explains: "An exhaustive study of the program and results of integration in the schools of Washington, D.C., which the NAACP and other left wing groups"—thank God for the NAACP and leftwing groups—"fostering integration said would be a model for the rest of the United States to follow, clearly reveals that the average white student who was integrated in the classroom with the Negro has been retarded two to three years in his educational progress. Therefore, it is not to the best interest of America that the white children, particularly in certain congested sections, be retarded three years in their educational advancement."

He then states later on in his speech that "... we have already, by constitutional amendment, authorized our legislature as other Southern States will do, to abolish the public schools if the Negro and white children are ever integrated therein. Make no mistake about it, we will abolish our public school system and establish private schools for our white children, and we

will still provide and see that the Negro is educated separately. It will cost dearly, but we will do it."

Finally, he concludes with these words. This is a judge. These are facts in the sense that these are statements that he had made. The history is there for those who wish to read it.

He indicates that: "... As long as we live, so long shall we be segregated, and after death, God willing, thus it will still be!"

□ 1900

Mr. Speaker, I call this to our attention because it is important for us to understand what the horrors of segregation were really like; that this was not something that persons of African ancestry enjoyed; that segregation caused many persons more than an inconvenience. It really cost a good many people their lives.

So I thank God, Mr. Speaker, for the NAACP, for labor unions, and for people of goodwill of all hues who worked hard to make sure we arrived at this point in our history.

I thank God for Brown v. Board of Education, but I also understand that the Brown case, Mr. Speaker, was as much about fate as it was about facts. I contend that, but for the intrusive hand of fate, the Brown decision could have been, at minimum, a partial endorsement of segregation.

Unfortunately, because the Chief Justice at that time, whose name I shall not mention—I need not embarrass his family—was a notorious supporter of the doctrine of segregation.

However, Mr. Speaker, after arguments were made in the Brown case in 1952, and before the decision was announced in 1954, fate intruded, and the Chief Justice suffered a heart attack from which he did not recover.

A conservative President then had the duty to appoint a man to the new seat as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. President Eisenhower appointed a man who participated in the World War II internment of Japanese Americans. This was Governor Earl Warren. He was appointed as the new Chief Justice. With this appointment, many persons thought that little would change on the Supreme Court. However, when Warren achieved a unanimous decision outlawing segregation, President Eisenhower is said to have stated that this was one of the biggest mistakes that he made by appointing Warren to the Supreme Court as his Chief Justice.

The Brown decision, Mr. Speaker, was little less than a minor miracle, and it has had a remarkable impact on our society. I probably stand here today because of the Brown decision. At the time the decision was rendered, there were two African Americans in Congress. Today we have approximately 50 African Americans in Congress.

The Brown decision has made a difference in the lives of people. Integration of schools has been of benefit to young people.

I have an article that I would like to read from. It is styled: "The Benefits of Socioeconomically and Racially Integrated Schools and Classrooms." This is from the Century Foundation, a reputable organization.

In the general sense, here is what the article addresses:

It indicates that students in integrated schools have higher average test scores.

Students in integrated schools are more likely to enroll in college.

Students in integrated schools are less likely to drop out.

Integrated schools help to reduce racial achievement gaps.

Integrated classrooms encourage critical thinking, problem-solving, and creativity.

Attending a diverse school can help reduce racial bias and counter stereotypes.

Students who attend integrated schools are more likely to seek out integrated settings after they leave school and enter life.

Integrated classrooms can improve students' satisfaction and intellectual self-confidence.

Learning in integrated settings can enhance students' leadership skills.

Finally, of the many things—and I have not cited them all—diverse classrooms prepare students to succeed in a global economy.

Mr. Speaker, there is little question in my mind and in the minds of many that integration has made a difference in the lives of people in this country. Integration has not only been of benefit to us in classrooms, but the truth is that we live in a society wherein integration has allowed us, by virtue of Brown v. Board of Education, to sleep where we sleep, to eat where we eat, to live where we live.

Brown v. Board of Education has had far-reaching implications beyond that of the classroom. In fact, the economic order, the political order, and the social order were positively impacted by Brown.

So, Mr. Speaker, I want to make it clear that I believe we have to, in this country, protect the integration and desegregation that society has produced.

I see that I have another colleague present. Mr. Speaker, can you give me the amount of time that I have left?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas has 14 minutes remaining.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. I assure my colleague that I will provide ample time.

Continuing, Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about the re-segregation of our society. I believe that it can occur, and I believe that we must guard against it. I believe that the voucherization of public school funding has been and continues to be the enemy of desegregation and integration.

Allow me to explain. After the Brown decision, as I have indicated, many States sought to repeal the requirement that they maintain a public

school system, and many did. After the Brown decision, vouchers were seen as a means by which public schools could be privatized, so that the public school system would exist with private tax dollars that were in the form of vouchers, and would allow people to still go to the schools of their choice. "School choice" was one of the watchwords of the day.

After the Brown decision, in 1955, thereabouts, Milton Friedman, Nobel Laureate, proposed that vouchers be used to allow children to go to the schools of their choice, allow their parents to have this opportunity to send their children to the schools of their choice.

Mr. Speaker, these vouchers, had they been used as proposed, would have continued to perpetrate segregation and perpetuate it for years to come. These vouchers were not used, thank God. I regret to say, however, that many States are currently proposing voucher systems that can lead to the re-segregation of society.

We have a duty to protect the gains that have been made, that have been fought for by the NAACP, by labor unions, by people of goodwill of all hues. We have got a duty and an obligation to protect these gains, and not allow our country to slip back into a dark past that no one wants to relive.

I would hope, Mr. Speaker, that as we continue our progress, we will remember the past that we have been able to extricate ourselves from. And in so doing, it is my desire that we give special attention to these attempts to use tax dollars, to voucherize tax dollars so that public schools can be privatized with tax dollars, which can lead to separation, which can lead to the re-segregation of society.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I have my colleague, the Honorable JIM CLYBURN present from South Carolina. He is known as a historian par excellence. I am so honored to yield to him so that he may speak on the subjects related to Black history and the NAACP.

I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN).

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, HBCUs, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, have been the topic of a great deal of discussions recently, and I rise, as part of the observance of Black History Month, to recognize and celebrate one of them, Allen University in Columbia, South Carolina.

Similar to the many Historically Black Colleges and Universities across the Nation, Allen University's contributions to my home State of South Carolina and the Nation are immeasurable. Founded to offer education and opportunity to formerly enslaved African Americans, HBCUs have been central institutions in African-American communities for generations.

In 1870, 5 years after the end of the Civil War, the clergy of the African Methodist Episcopal Church set out to create an institution to educate newly freed slaves and train clergy for the

AME Church. The Church purchased land in Cokesbury, South Carolina, and named the new college Payne Institute in honor of AME Bishop Daniel Payne, a native of Charleston, South Carolina. Bishop Payne had become the first Black college president in the United States at Wilberforce University in 1863, which he had helped found.

In 1880, Bishop William Dickerson sought to relocate the college to Columbia and acquired land on which the campus sits today. The institution was renamed Allen University after Richard Allen, the founder and first bishop of the AME Church.

Higher education remained segregated in South Carolina until the early 1960s. The University of South Carolina, also in my district, only a mile away from Allen, for example, admitted its first African American in 1963, 2 years after I graduated college.

Throughout the Jim Crow era, Allen University offered degrees in law, education, and theology, and at one time also offered elementary and high school classes.

Several of its buildings are on the National Register of Historic Places, forming the Allen University Historic District. Arnett Hall, the oldest building on campus, was constructed in 1891 by the students themselves. It was named after Benjamin W. Arnett, an early leader of the AME Church, who served on Allen University's Board of Trustees.

The Chappelle Administration Building, which houses the Chappelle Auditorium, was designed by John Anderson Lankford, known as the dean of Black architects, and completed in 1925. It was named after William David Chappelle, the great-grandfather of comedian Dave Chappelle, and a graduate of Allen University, who later served as its president. Chappelle Auditorium is one of five buildings in Columbia designated a National Historic Landmark.

This historic campus has been central to the Waverly neighborhood and the African-American community in Columbia. Black artists, such as Leontyne Price, Langston Hughes, and Brook Benton, all appeared at Chappelle Auditorium.

In 1947, the Reverend James Hinton, then-president of the NAACP of South Carolina, held a rally at Chappelle, which was attended by Reverend Joseph A. DeLaine, an Allen University alumnus. Inspired by the event, Reverend DeLaine organized families in Summerton, South Carolina, to petition their school district to provide buses for Black students who, at the time, were forced to make a daily walk of 9 miles to school.

□ 1915

This case, *Briggs v. Elliott*, was the first of the five cases that became *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. It is no exaggeration, Mr. Speaker, to say that Allen University was the birthplace of the movement that overturned "separate but

equal" and brought an end to legal segregation in America. Allen University will remain central to the struggle for civil rights.

In the early 1960s, Allen University students led demonstrations at segregated lunch counters and participated in many of the marches in Columbia during that period. National leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, and Ralph Abernathy visited Allen during these demonstrations, often staying on campus when they came to town.

Today Allen University is a liberal arts institution still operated by the AME Church. It has graduated many notable elected officials, including State Representative William Clyburn and his wife, Beverly Dozier Clyburn, who retired from the Aiken, South Carolina, City Council several years ago. Retired State Senator Kay Patterson is also a graduate. Two of Allen's alumni, former Senator Clementa Pinckney and Tywanza Sanders, were among the nine who were murdered during the attack at Emanuel AME Church in 2015.

Several of its historic buildings, like Arnett Hall and Chappelle Auditorium, have been restored recently with Federal funding from the HBCU Historic Preservation Program, which this body in its collective wisdom voted unanimously last year to reauthorize. I plan, along with my friend Representative GREEN and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus, to reintroduce that bill this year. I am hopeful that we will repeat the unanimity this year and that the Senate will support our efforts.

Allen University has made an indelible mark on our society over the past 147 years. I ask all of my colleagues to join me in honoring its great contributions to this great Nation.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. I thank Mr. CLYBURN for those wonderful comments. They were most edifying, and I am sure that a good many people have acquired a better understanding of Allen University.

Mr. Speaker, how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I will simply say this in my last 2 minutes. I am grateful that the NAACP was there not only for me, but for this country. The NAACP filed and won many cases, but *Brown v. Board of Education* has to be one of the most outstanding pieces of litigation that it engaged in.

Of course, you can't talk about *Brown* without mentioning the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, who was the lead counsel in the *Brown* case who went on to become a Justice on the Supreme Court.

The *Brown* case has transformed American life. It desegregated and integrated American society, the economic order, and the political order as well. I am blessed to be here because of

Brown v. Board of Education, and my hope is that we will understand that desegregation and integration are here now—and we will fight for them—but we have to also understand that we can go from desegregation to resegregation. We must be careful, we must vigilant, and we must protect the gains that we have made.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

ISSUES AND OPPORTUNITIES AT THE VA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. O'ROURKE) for 30 minutes.

Mr. O'ROURKE. Mr. Speaker, I came to the floor this evening primarily to talk about issues and opportunities at the VA and the successful confirmation of our new Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Dr. David Shulkin, but I would be remiss in not thanking my colleague from Texas (Mr. GREEN) for his powerful words about the NAACP and the profoundly positive impact that they have had on this country and on our ability to make the most of the potential that we have in every single community in the United States.

Mr. GREEN is well aware of the inordinate pride that I have in the community I represent of El Paso, Texas, and how the first chapter of the NAACP was started in El Paso, Texas, through the good work of Dr. Lawrence Nixon, who also has the distinction of having been the man who effectively desegregated voting in the State of Texas, ending the all-White primary which had prevailed following Reconstruction in our State, much to our lasting shame. But to our immense pride, he was the man and our community was the place where that successful fight began.

As Mr. GREEN also knows, because I had the pleasure and honor of joining him in a Special Order not too long ago, El Paso also was the home of Thelma White, who, along with some other young, courageous El Pasoans, had gone to the all-African-American high school, Douglass High School, in El Paso. They attempted to enroll in Texas Western College, now known as the University of Texas at El Paso, but were denied entry simply based on the color of their skin.

Thanks to the NAACP and one of their most promising attorneys, Thurgood Marshall, they were able to take this case to a Federal bench, in fact, the bench of R.E. Thompson, who also happens to be an El Pasoan, whose ruling not only ruled in their favor, but effectively desegregated higher education in the State of Texas at that time and forever more.

So I just want to add my thanks and my support for an outstanding organization and the very positive impact that they have had on the State that I call home and the community that I

am so lucky to serve and to represent. I thank the gentleman from Texas for staying just a little bit longer.

Mr. Speaker, I am also here today to thank my colleagues in the Senate, who, 100-0, yesterday confirmed the President's nomination of Dr. David Shulkin to be the next Secretary of the VA at what I think is the most critical moment in the history of that critically important organization.

We all know of the severe challenges that the VA and the veterans whom it purports to serve face today. We know of the challenges in service-connected disability claim wait times—in the appeals that are made to those claims when the judgment or the ruling is not in favor of the veteran in question or there is an error in that judgment or some additional information needs to be added—and wait times in appeals that last not days or weeks or months, but measured in years.

We know about challenges in wait times for those veterans who are seeking to get an appointment with a primary care physician, a specialty care physician, or, I think most critically, at a time when 20 veterans a day in this country—and that is a conservative estimate, 20 veterans a day—are taking their own lives, severe wait times to see a mental health care provider. Those are among the most important challenges that we as a Congress and those of us who serve on the Veterans' Affairs Committee face today.

So, again, I am grateful for the Senate's work on this issue in confirming Dr. Shulkin. I have got to say, despite some deep disagreements, differences, and disappointments with the current administration, I am grateful to this President for the public good he has done in nominating Dr. Shulkin, a man who has served in previous roles as CEO of Beth Israel Medical Center in New York City, chair of medicine at Drexel University College of Medicine, and beginning in the summer of 2015, the Under Secretary for the Veterans Health Administration, where he hit the ground running and began working on the challenges before us, providing solutions to them nationally and in our individual congressional districts on the ground working with the teams there both at the VA, in the public and private sector, and with the various Representatives who brought these issues to his attention. So I could not be more grateful for his service, and I want to speak about that a little bit more.

I also want to acknowledge that we have some excellent leadership on both the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee and here in the House, where Dr. PHIL ROE of Tennessee is taking the helm as the chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee—he, himself, a medical doctor; he, himself, a veteran; and he, himself, someone who chose to serve on the committee as just one member of that committee in the years leading up to his selection by his

colleagues as a chairman. I know from talking with him that he has big plans, significant and defined goals, and he is willing to work on a bipartisan basis to make sure that we achieve them. I am really looking forward to the ability to work with him. He is joined by returning Members who have sought position on the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

Now, for those who don't know, for too long, the Veterans' Affairs Committee was seen as a backwater or a basement. It wasn't a place where an aspiring Member of Congress with ambitions went to do her or his work. This was a place they were relegated to when they couldn't make it on to a bigger or better committee. That was the old conventional wisdom.

These days, I am proud to report, the Veterans' Affairs Committee is a place of distinction, where Members serve with pride, where we ask to join that committee, as I did after I was elected in 2012, so we can tackle some of the most difficult challenges before this Congress and, certainly, this country: how we ensure that we deliver the best care to the 20 million-plus veterans who have put their lives on the line and served this country in a way that no other American has, in a way that ensures that we have the America that so many of us take for granted, veterans whose service dates back to World War II and leads up to those who are just returning from Afghanistan, Iraq, and many places all over the world where we have U.S. servicemembers stationed in more than 140 countries today.

Ensuring that we fulfill our obligations to them, whether it is post-9/11 GI Bill educational and workforce benefits, whether it is access to quality and consistent health care or ensuring that we quickly, effectively, and successfully respond to claims made after there is a service-connected disability incurred in service, we need to get these things right. The future of our country depends on it, our honor depends on it, and the commitments that we have made and the obligations that we have incurred as a country to these veterans, all that depends on our successful completion of that work.

So I am grateful for the Members who have chosen to serve on that committee; I am grateful for our chairman; and I am grateful for our ranking member, Mr. TIM WALZ of Minnesota, who also happens to be the highest ranking enlisted servicemember to ever serve in the Congress as a command sergeant major, someone who has asked to be on that committee, who has written significant legislation, has ensured that the Clay Hunt SAV Act, for example, became law, which gives us a better opportunity to reduce veteran suicide, which I think is the most critical issue that we can address, that we reduce the number of veterans who are taking their own lives and provide more resources and more help.

I will say this about Mr. WALZ: He is someone who puts his country above